

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 08289 01 OF 02 240808Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 OMB-01 AID-05 ACDA-12 IO-13 SMS-01 /108 W  
-----093404 240833Z /21

P R 240650Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8785  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 8289

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR PK AF PBOR  
SUBJ: PAKISTANI VIEWS OF AFGHANISTAN DEVELOPMENTS AND PAK/US  
RELATIONS

REF: (A) ISLAMABAD 7941 (B) ISLAMABAD 7508 (C) ISLAMABAD 7688  
(D) ISLAMABAD 7726 (E) ISLAMABAD 8095

1. SUMMARY: FOREIGN SECRETARY SHAHNAWAZ -IN A LENGTHY DISCUSSION  
WITH  
AMBASSADOR DUBS AND ME--PROVIDED US WITH SOME

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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 08289 01 OF 02 240808Z

REVEALING VIEWS OF THE PAKISTANI ATTITUDE VIS-A-VIS THE NEW  
AFGHAN REGIME. SHAHNAWAZ SEES THE POSSIBILITY OF RESURRECTING A  
MEANINGFUL DIALOG BETWEEN KABUL AND ISLAMABAD WITHIN THE NEXT FEW  
MONTHS AND SAYS THE GOP IS COMMITTED TO TEST KABUL'S WILLINGNESS.  
THE FONSEC CONSIDERS US/PAKISTANI RELATIONS AS A VITAL FACTOR IN  
ANY REESTABLISHMENT OF A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE AFGHANS AS WELL  
AS AN IMPORTANT INGREDIENT IN REGIONAL STABILITY. HE SEEMS

OPTIMISTIC THAT THE REPROCESSING ISSUE WILL SOON BE SETTLED DEFINITELY THUS MAKING POSSIBLE MORE REAL AND VISIBLE US SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN. END SUMMARY.

2. I HOSTED A SMALL DINNER FOR AMB. DUBS AUGUST 21 ATTENDED BY FONSEC SHAHNAWAZ, MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR AFGHANISTAN AMIR USMAN, DCM AND ACTING POLCOUNS. SHAHNAWAZ HAD TOLD ME EARLIER HE WOULD WELCOME SMALL AFFAIR LIMITED TO PAK AND US PARTICIPANTS TO PURSUE MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR DUBS (REF A).

3. SHAHNAWAZ AND USMAN SHOWED AN ADMIRABLE DEPTH OF KNOWLEDGE AND SENSITIVE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEW AFGHAN REGIME AND CHARACTERIZED RELATIVE POWER OF VARIOUS MINISTERS AND FACTIONS IN MANNER VERY SIMILAR TO OUR OWN PERCEPTIONS.

--SHAHNAWAZ SAID FONMIN AMIN IS THE "REAL POWER" IN THE DRA REGIME AND TARAKI IS THE SENIOR "FATHER FIGURE," (THE LATTER BEING DUBS' TERM FULLY AGREED TO BY SHAHNAWAZ).

--HE SAID THE PARCHAMIST FACTION "EXILE" WAS BY NO MEANS PERVASIVE AND THAT THE SOVIETS PERMITTED TARAKI TO PURGE CERTAIN ELEMENTS AS A DOMESTIC POLITICAL NECESSITY. THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE PARCHAMISTS (BOTH PURGED AND IN AFGHANISTAN), PROBABLY REGARDING THEM AS AN ALTERNATIVE REGIME --ALMOST A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE -- FOR USE IF AND WHEN TARAKI'S GOVERNMENT SHOULD STUMBLE.  
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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 08289 01 OF 02 240808Z

4. PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS. SHAHNAWAZ REITERATED HIS EARLIER REMARKS TO ME (REF B) ABOUT AFGHAN FOREIGN POLICY BEING "TWO FACED" WITH A CRITICAL QUARRELSOMENESS IN THEIR PUBLIC STANCE BUT A MUCH MORE AMENABLE ATTITUDE IN PRIVATE. HE SAID THE PAK MINISTER OF COMMERCE VISIT TO KABUL IS NOW FIRING UP AND WILL TAKE PLACE EITHER IN THE THIRD WEEK OF SEPTEMBER OR IN EARLY OCTOBER.

--IF THE AFGHANS WANT TO TALK ABOUT POLITICAL MATTERS SHAHNAWAZ MAY ACCOMPANY AND THE MEETINGS WOULD THEN PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TEST POSSIBILITY OF RESUMING DIALOGUE ON DURAND LINE INTERRUPTED BY OVERTHROW OF DAOUD.

--SHAHNAWAZ BELIEVED THAT DRA WOULD QUICKLY COME TO APPRECIATE (AS HAD DAOUD) SECURITY ADVANTAGES FOR AFGHANISTAN OF A SETTLEMENT WITH PAKISTAN, AND WOULD WANT TO ENTER INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. HE EXPRESSED SOME DOUBT WHETHER SOVIETS WOULD PERMIT DRA TO REACH AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT WITH PAKISTAN UNLESS IT WERE ACHIEVED UNDER SOVIET AUSPICES.

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 08289 02 OF 02 240830Z  
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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 8289

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

--SHAHNAWAZ STRONGLY REITERATED HIS PREVIOUS ASSURANCES TO ME THAT THE GOP IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO DISCOURAGE ANY TROUBLE-MAKING ALONG PAK/AFGHAN FRONTIER. HE ALSO INDICATED THIS ASSURANCE HAS BEEN REPEATED TO DRA. HE NOTED THAT THERE ARE REFUGEES COMING INTO PAKISTAN WHO HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATED HERE. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY ARE FIRMLY INSTRUCTED THAT NO ANTI-DRA ACTIVITY WILL BE TOLERATED FROM PAK SOIL.

--THE HANDLING OF THE MIG-17 WHICH STRAYED INTO PAKISTAN RECENTLY (REF C AND D) WAS, ACCORDING TO SHAHNAWAZ, A GOOD SIGNAL TO THE DRA OF PAKISTAN'S INTENTIONS REGARDING AFGHANISTAN AND THAT THE DRA EXPRESSED SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR ALL THE GOP HAD DONE IN EFFECTING THE SMOOTH RETURN OF THE AIRCRAFT AND PILOT. HE  
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 08289 02 OF 02 240830Z

MENTIONED, INCIDENTALLY, THAT ALTHOUGH THE GOP INVITED THE DRA AMBASSADOR IN ISLAMABAD TO SIT IN ON THE DEBRIEFING OF THE

WAYWARD PILOT, KABUL DID NOT PERMIT HIM TO PARTICIPATE.

--ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DRA'S REPRESENTATIVE HERE, I MENTIONED TO SHAHNAWAZ THE KNOWLEDGE IN THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY OF THE INTEMPERATE REMARKS MADE TO ITALIAN AMBASSADOR BY DRA AMBASSADOR BARYALAI (REF E). SHJRNAWAZ REMARKED THAT BARYALAI WAS SHOWING THE EFFECT OF HIS MOSCOW INDOCTRINATION. THE FONSEC APPEARED TO PLACE NO UNDUE SIGNIFICANCE ON THE MATTER.

5. PAK/US RELATIONS. SHAHNAWAZ LAMENTED THE GENERAL STATE OF PAK/US RELATIONS. HE SAID US SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN IS THE KEY TO REGIONAL STABILITY AND -- MORE SPECIFICALLY -- TO EFFECTING A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE DRA. THE OVERT LACK OF TRADITIONAL US SUPPORT, HE CONTINUED, MAKES THE GOP FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERABLY MORE DIFFICULT. I RESPONDED THAT A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE REPROCESSING ISSUE IS A NECESSARY FIRST STEP TO A RESUMPTION OF A MORE NORMAL RELATIONSHIP.

--SHAHNAWAZ ILLUSTRATED THE UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF US/PAK RELATIONS BY CITING THE DISCUSSION I HAD WITH HIM CONCERNING THE US POSITION ON THE DURAND LINE (REF A), COMPLAINING MILDLY THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY RESULT OF THE SERIOUS DISCUSSION BETWEEN CMLA ZIA AND UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM. HE ALSO EXPRESSED ZIA'S UNHAPPINESS WITH OUR POSITION -- NOT FOR ITS CONTENT BUT FOR ITS CENTRAL REFERENCE TO THE 1956 COMMUNIQUE OF THE DEFUNCT SEATO. SHAHNAWAZ SAID HE HOPED WE COULD SOMEHOW PUBLICLY STATE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE DURAND LINE WITHOUT THE UNWELCOME HISTORICAL REFERENCE.

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## Message Attributes

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